

MEN AND MEN'S CAREERS

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We are pleased to contribute a chapter on men's careers for this handbook because both practitioners and researchers need to focus more on the career concerns for men. We must start by acknowledging the irony in this statement because, similar to much of psychology, vocational psychology has historically been the study of the career development of men. Early vocational psychology studies included only samples of men (almost always White men). The first vocational theories were developed to explain and predict the career development of men, although they were assumed to apply to both men and women. Writing in 1969, Crites noted the exception of the Center for Research in Careers at Harvard, which was designed by Anne Roe, to study "the careers of women, a largely neglected area of research heretofore" (p. 10). In fact, most of the rest of the research reported in Crites's (1969) seminal text *Vocational Psychology* consisted of samples of men.

It was not until the 1980s that the assumption that the same factors influenced men's and women's careers was called into question. A critical article by Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) issued a call to action for practitioners and researchers to study the career psychology of women. They began with an exposition of their underlying assumptions, beginning with "the potential career development of women, although not fundamentally different than that of men, is a great deal more complex due to that combination of attitudes, role expectations, behaviors, and sanctions, known as the socialization process" (Fitzgerald & Crites, 1980, p. 45). The authors went

on to recommend such practices as checking sexist biases of counselors and encouraging women to consider nontraditional careers. The intervening 30 years has, indeed, shown a remarkable change in attitudes toward women in vocational psychology, if not in the greater U.S. society. Many scholars have examined factors influencing women's career development and work decisions, including early aspirations (Care, Deans, & Brown, 2007), occupational choices—particularly in the science, technology, and engineering (STEM) fields (e.g., Fouad et al., 2010; Lent et al., 2008)—and barriers to work (Betz, 2006). Kantamneni (2013) reviewed this literature, noting "Perhaps the heightened emphasis on examining how gender affects women is due to the institutional sexism that has systematically limited women's opportunities for employment, advancement, and power within the world of work" (p. 86).

However, we might now make the argument that researchers have not studied men's careers enough, and that researchers need a better understanding of the role that socialization and gender role expectations play in men's careers. Although occupational segregation has been most extensively examined for the implications for women, it has serious implications for men as well. In the next section, we summarize the occupational statistics for men in the labor force, demonstrating that, in fact, men occupy only a relatively limited group of occupations. It is true that those occupations have typically held the most prestige, pay, and power (e.g., most executives are men, as are most engineers and computer scientists). However, it may also be true that men's

occupational choices are constrained by male socialization. Very little research has examined the relationship between masculinity and occupational choice and development. We argue throughout this chapter that more information is needed to examine the critical link between work and masculinity, particularly because the provider role is so strong for men of many cultures.

Most researchers agree that masculinity is a social construction (see Chapters 3 and 4, this handbook). Boys are taught to adopt a set of culturally embedded standards of appropriate masculine behavior (Levant, 1995). Part of those culturally embedded standards in the United States focuses on the importance of prestigious work, the importance of achievement, and the importance of the male role as provider. Men were taught as boys that real men strive for individual success, are focused on their career, and put those objectives ahead of their family. Violations of those teachings are punished, both as one grows into adulthood and during that adulthood, often in the form of social condemnation, exclusion, or simply having one's masculinity called into question.

Two theories have been developed to identify psychological consequences of violating expected masculine behavior. *Gender role strain* (Pleck, 1981, 1995) is defined as the stress experienced by individuals when they face incompatible behavioral expectations associated with their masculine role. *Gender role conflict* focuses on understanding how specific contexts influence the consequences associated with subscription to the traditionally socialized male gender role. However, despite the acknowledgment of work as a prominent feature of the masculine role, there has been very little examination of the relationship between gender role conflict or strain and work decisions. Researchers need to understand how the psychology of men may connect with vocational and work psychology. Indeed, little vocational research has focused on within-group differences among men, or how gender role socialization and cultural context affect their career choices.

As we review in the next section, the majority of men participate in the workforce, the majority of higher paying positions are occupied by men, and

men still hold positions of power and authority in the workplace. However, in fact, although there has been some movement of women into traditionally male occupations, there has been little movement of men into traditionally female occupations. It may be that men view entering traditionally female occupations (e.g., nurse, elementary school teacher) as a threat to their masculinity (Lupton, 2000, 2006), it may be that they have no role models in those occupations, or it may be that men have not been encouraged to consider them. After a review of the occupational statistics below, one could argue that men's career choices are more restricted than women's. However, very little research has been done to examine this, to help develop theories to explain men's restricted choices, or to help develop interventions to help men make a broader array of choices.

We also review the limited research on men's career-related decisions. Beyond noting that work is an important role for men, surprisingly little research has examined the role of work in men's lives. Just to give an example, a search on terms "career development" and "women" shows some 1,400 citations, but a search of "career development" and "men" shows less than 30. O'Neil (2008) identified the career development of men as an area of future growth for studies in gender role conflict, because work is a primary role for men and is presumed to be a significant area of identity. However, is this the case for men of all races? How does sexual orientation play a role in work choices for men? Do men who choose to enter nontraditional careers (e.g., nursing) have different socialization histories or gender role conflicts? Should counselors encourage men to consider nontraditional careers? Clearly, although developing a greater understanding of women's career development has helped both scientists and practitioners in vocational psychology, much more research is needed on understanding the career choices of men.

We begin with an overview of men's participation in the workforce and their distribution across occupations. We briefly review vocational theories, and the limited research on men within those theoretical perspectives. We then review the research in men's nontraditional careers, including studies that

have investigated men who choose to be stay-at-home fathers. We also review the literature on men's work–family interface, including their work–family and family–work conflicts. Finally, we discuss the research on men and career counseling. The latter is often a nonthreatening entry for men into counseling, but a series of studies have also shown that men and women approach career counseling differently. We conclude with a series of recommendations for researchers and practitioners.

MEN IN THE WORKFORCE

Men have traditionally participated in the labor force in greater numbers than women, although that has begun to shift. In 1970, men were 63% of the labor force. By 2010, the greater participation of women shifted the gender balance, such that men were 53% of the workforce (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013b). In 2012, 70% of men were in the labor force, the majority working full time (compared to 57% of women). The increasing diversity of the United States was also evident in the workforce. In 1970, more than 86% of the labor force identified as White; this percentage fell to 73% by 2010. Overall, in 2010, nearly one third of the U.S. population identified as some racial/ethnic heritage other than White. Latinos represented more than 16% of the population, an increase from 12% in the 2000 census (Humes, Jones, & Ramirez, 2011). African Americans were 12.6% of the population, Asian Americans grew from 4% to 5%, and 1% identified as American Indian (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013b). The difference between the labor force percentages of Whites and those in the overall population is that individuals identifying as a racial/ethnic minority are younger and less likely to already be in the labor force. It also means that more and more new entrants in the labor force will identify as a member of a racial/ethnic minority group.

It is important to note that although there is more racial/ethnic and gender diversity in the workforce, there are racial and gender disparities in specific occupational groups. Vocational psychologists consider an occupation to be traditional for men (or women) if at least 70% of the members of that

occupation are male (or female). Traditionally male occupations include most of the higher paying STEM occupations, such as engineering, science, managerial positions, or computer science/information systems; these are also predominately filled by White men. Nontraditional occupations for men include nursing, elementary school teaching, human resources, psychology, and paralegal. African Americans and Latinos are more likely to have lower paying jobs in food preparation, building maintenance, custodial, and transportation industries (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013b). Asian Americans are more likely to be in scientific and engineering occupations and are less likely to be in many service jobs (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013b).

Occupational segregation is the term that is used to describe these gender and racial differences in occupations. Sociologists studying gender and ethnic differences have documented the real effects of occupational segregation, particularly in wage inequality. Mintz and Krymkowski (2010–2011) examined gender and racial/ethnic occupational segregation over time, finding that White men continued their wage advantages over all women and racial/ethnic minority men, even though more women are in the workforce and even though women of all races, as well as racial/ethnic minority men, have increased their educational attainment.

The differential wage advantage for White men in select occupations has led many vocational psychologists to focus, instead, on the experiences of women and racial/ethnic minorities. Although this has helped increase the understanding of barriers and supports for these populations, P. P. Heppner, Gysbers, Heppner, and Johnston (2014) pointed out that there is a great need to understand the experiences of men who are not in these advantaged positions. As they noted “Career counseling that homogenizes men or decontextualizes men's experiences does not provide the richness of information necessary for informed career planning” (P. P. Heppner et al., 2014, p. 106). We would add that the lack of movement of men into nontraditional occupations presents a restriction of range of choices for men. Several scholars (e.g., M. J. Heppner & Jung, 2013; P. P. Heppner et al., 2014) have argued that this is, in part, due to early socialization and men's

adherence to expected gender roles. Gati and Perez (2014) explicitly examined this in an examination of gender differences in career decision making across 20 years, comparing men and women from 1990 and 2010. They noted that men's and women's preferences overlapped in 2010, men's interests in STEM-related activities were higher than women's, and men had lower interests in social and artistic areas. However, they found some decreases in the distance between these differences across the cohorts, and they concluded that "occupational gender differences may stem from malleable societal structuring and not necessarily from inherent differences between men and women" (Gati & Perez, 2014, p. 74).

MEN'S CAREER CHOICES

The field of vocational psychology has a number of theories that have been developed to predict and explain career development and choice. We briefly review the major theories here; interested readers are referred to Brown and Lent (2013) for more information on each theory. Each theory focuses on different factors that influence career choices.

Holland's theory (Holland, 1997; Nauta, 2013) hypothesizes that people seek out work environments that provide a fit with their vocational personalities. Work environments and vocational personalities may be described by one or more themes: Realistic, Investigative, Artistic, Social, Enterprising, and Conventional. If they match—or are congruent—with that environment, they are predicted to be satisfied in that occupation. Holland's theory hypothesizes that the themes are organized around a hexagon in order, and it presumes that the themes are equidistant from each other (termed the *calculus assumption*). A great deal of research has examined the calculus assumption, particularly examining whether the underlying structure is similar for men and women or is similar across races. Although researchers have used different measures of Holland's theory, no gender differences have been found in perceptions of the structure of the world of work, meaning that measures of Holland's theory may be used validly with both men and women (Nauta, 2013; Tracey & Sodano, 2013). Counselors

working with men from Holland's perspective usually assess interests to determine their predominant themes and identify potentially congruent occupations. Men tend to score much higher in the Realistic and Investigative themes, which are congruent with the male-traditional occupations of engineering, science, and medicine, as well as being congruent with the socialized male tendencies toward being more active than thoughtful, more solution focused than reflective, and more rational than affective in their interactions with the world (O'Neil, 2014; Wester & Vogel, 2012). Counselors may want to help men consider additional themes and occupations to help male clients explore nontraditional options that might be a good occupational fit.

The theory of work adjustment (TWA), developed by Rene Dawis and Lloyd Lofquist, also is a person–environment fit model, although this theory highlights the correspondence between individuals' abilities and needs and the needs reinforced by the work environment (Dawis, 2005; Dawis & Lofquist, 1984; Swanson & Schneider, 2013). If an individual is in an occupation where his or her needs are reinforced, he or she is predicted to be satisfied. If, however, those needs are not reinforced, he or she is predicted to engage in adjustment to bring reinforcers that correspond more with the individual's needs. This would seem similar to O'Neil's (2014) theory of gender role conflict, in which the focus is on the fit (or lack thereof) between the socialized male gender role behaviors and the contextual demands of a situation. In situations where there is a high degree of congruence between the male role and situational demands, experienced gender role conflict is low. However, where there is minimal congruence, gender role conflict increases, and the individual often begins engaging in a range of maladaptive behaviors to cope. Although Swanson (1996) called for more research on differences in TWA constructs among various populations, very few studies have examined gender differences; for the most part, studies have statistically controlled for gender to eliminate the variance due to gender. TWA counselors assess individuals' needs to predict occupations in which they would be satisfied or help clients engage in adjustment activities to bring their needs more in line with the occupation.

Whereas Holland's theory and the TWA predict ways that individuals match with a work environment, Super's developmental theory (Savickas, 2002, 2005; Super, Savickas, & Super, 1996) describes the development of an individual's career over the life span. Super's fundamental premise is that individuals choose careers that allow them to implement their self-concept. The theory hypothesizes specific tasks that individuals need to accomplish across five developmental stages, from childhood to retirement. Developmental tasks in the childhood stage (such as becoming aware of various careers) prepare individuals for later tasks of exploring and establishing oneself in a career. Although initially a traditional stage model, with invariant progression from one stage to the next, Super's theory has been updated to consider that individuals may go through exploration and establishment in midlife as they transition from one career to another (either voluntarily or involuntarily). Super also proposed that individuals play many roles in their lives: child, student, homemaker, worker, citizen, and leisurite. These roles may interact, and may also vary in salience over the life span. Therefore, an individual who leaves work to return to school while taking care of an elderly parent has less salience in the worker role but greater salience in the student and child roles. Super's theory has been criticized as having been based primarily on research with men, although Super updated the theory in the 1990s to be more inclusive of women's careers (Hartung, 2013). Indeed, most of the multiple-roles research on women's careers has been spurred by Super's theory, but very few studies have specifically examined gender differences (Hartung, 2013). Further, there has been no published work incorporating Super's theory with the psychology of men, despite the clear evidence that men experience a developmental progression to their masculinity as they age (see Chapter 18, this handbook), which includes their vocational identity. A counselor incorporating a developmental perspective with a male client discusses how his occupational choices reveal his client's self-concept, and whether this is accurate. The counselor would also talk about the role work plays in his life and how this balances with his other roles. This may be particularly important for men socialized to have a

very strong worker role but for whom other roles are more salient (e.g., homemaker or citizen).

Social cognitive career theory focuses on the personal constructions that people place on events related to career decision making (Lent, 2013; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 1994, 2002). The social cognitive model is the most explicit vocational theory in its consideration of environmental conditions and events. Lent et al. (1994, 2002; also see Lent, 2013) proposed that self-efficacy, or confidence in one's ability to accomplish domain-specific tasks, interacts with the outcomes expected of engaging in those tasks. Together they help the formation of interests. Thus, someone who has confidence in math and who expects good things from doing math tasks will develop an interest in math. These will lead to the development of goals (becoming a mathematician or a math teacher) and eventually the implementation of that goal. Demographic variables, such as sex, race/ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, interact with background variables to influence learning experiences. The four sources of self-efficacy and outcome expectations are performance accomplishments, vicarious learning, physiological arousal (e.g., anxiety is a negative source), and verbal persuasion. Lent and colleagues (Lent, 2013; Lent, Brown, & Hackett, 2000; Lent et al., 2002) further postulated contextual affordances, both distal and proximal (earlier or closer to choice) that may serve as barriers or supports to implementing career choices. Researchers have used the social cognitive career theory to examine gender differences in self-efficacy from the early findings of differences between men and women in science and math self-efficacy (e.g., Betz & Hackett, 1981; Hackett & Betz, 1981). Consistent with the socialized male gender role, men demonstrate greater self-efficacy in science and math arenas, yet lower self-efficacy in communal or social areas, leading Lent (2013) to note that "women's and men's career pursuits can be constricted or expanded by learning opportunities and the types of self-efficacy beliefs and outcome expectations that such experiences enable" (p. 133). Counselors working with men from a social cognitive career model would help their clients consider their self-efficacy for various career choices, their self-efficacy making career decisions, the realism of

their outcome expectations, and the contextual barriers or supports for their career decisions. They would also question their male clients about potential foreclosed options due to socialization.

Critiquing these theories, M. J. Heppner and Jung (2013) noted that all of these theories assume considerable ability to choose work environments and, thus, may apply to only certain groups of people (e.g., White, middle and upper-middle class, heterosexuals, males). Many individuals, however, do not have the ability to choose among various work options, and they must work to feed and shelter themselves and their families. For others, their work options are circumscribed even more by discrimination and oppression. As Swanson and Fouad (2015) noted, “an individual’s choices and decisions, or lack of choices, are shaped by his or her gender, family, disability, sexual orientation, social class, and culture, which in turn influence his or her schooling, access to resources, and interaction with the larger environment” (p. 5).

M. J. Heppner and Jung (2013) took these notions a step further in developing the gender and social class model of career development (GSCM). The model proposes that gender and social class help to determine the accessibility of resources available to an individual. For example, White, middle class, and upper middle class heterosexual men have access to more resources than racial/ethnic minority, gay, or poor men. These resources interact with early socialization. Boys receive messages about the importance of work, the critical role of work in men’s lives as providers, and the appropriateness of some types of occupations, which starts very early in life. P. P. Heppner et al. (2014) reviewed the research on early occupational stereotyping and its effect on restricting options for boys, concluding “the need not to identify with anything feminine, including traditionally feminine occupations, is paramount” (p. 108). In the GSCM, gender and social class interact with resources and early socialization to help construct a sense of self, which, in turn, help to shape career development, occupational attainment, and work experiences.

M. J. Heppner and Jung (2013) and P. P. Heppner et al. (2014) described the importance of work in men’s lives; indeed, they commented that, for

many men, life and work are virtually inseparable to the extent that many men experience significant amounts of psychological distress associated with the tensions between their work and other life roles (e.g., O’Neil, 2014). Older men report feeling adrift after retirement, as if they lost any sense of identity (e.g., Vacha-Hasse, Wester, & Christianson, 2011), and society looks with suspicion upon men who have abandoned the world of work for other (i.e., family) pursuits (see Chapter 24, this handbook). Low-income workers suffer even more, because in an uncertain economy, those individuals, who most often work in occupations susceptible to lay-offs (e.g., construction, manufacturing; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013a), never have the chance to link an identity to their work. The transient nature of their employment instead fosters feelings of worthlessness. Unemployment was found to be related to depression and anxiety (Paul & Moser, 2009), and career counselors need to be particularly attune to the role of work in men’s lives and the long-term effects of unemployment (Whiston, Fouad, & Juntunen, 2013).

Men in Nontraditional Careers

Although women entering nontraditional careers have garnered substantial research, men entering nontraditional careers have not received the same attention, and research is comparatively scarce (M. J. Heppner & Heppner, 2009). One of the first to explore men who entered nontraditional career was Chusmir (1990), who defined nontraditional careers as those that have less than 30% of the same-sex workers. Chusmir proposed a model for the nontraditional career choices of men in which there is an interaction of personal influences (i.e., background characteristics, attitudes and values, and intrinsic needs), family influences (e.g., attitudes toward family roles, relationship with children, marital status), and societal influences (e.g., gender role norms, support and counseling), resulting in nontraditional careers, which can have either a positive or negative outcome. Lease (2003) tested Chusmir’s model and found that social attitudes, socioeconomic status, and educational degree aspirations predicted traditionality of career choice for men. More specifically, she found that more politically liberal attitudes were

related to nontraditional occupational choice, whereas higher socioeconomic status and higher degree aspirations were associated with more traditional career choices for men. Inconsistent with Chusmir's model that suggested that family influences will affect traditionality of choice such that nontraditional men will place a higher priority on family, Lease found that family variables were not related to career choice.

Chusmir (1990) also summarized early research in this area and found that the outcomes for men in nontraditional careers were mostly positive. For example, he found that men in nontraditional careers were more likely to be promoted quickly, experience occupational stability, and report job satisfaction. On the other hand, consistent with Hayes (1989), he concluded that nontraditional careers for men were typically viewed as lower pay and lower status than traditional careers. In this summary, Chusmir concluded that men in nontraditional careers were likely to possess many of the same traits and characteristics frequently attributed to women and were likely to cite either their mothers or other females as being influential. Early research also tended to indicate that these men were generally comfortable with themselves and their sexuality.

One of the research questions is whether men entered nontraditional careers because they found those careers innately more satisfying, or are they less satisfied because they are in a career that is considered a women's occupation? Dodson and Borders (2006) found that men in a nontraditional career (i.e., elementary school counseling) had higher overall job satisfaction than men in a traditionally masculine career (i.e., engineering). Moreover, Cushman (2005) found that many of the male primary school teachers believed the low-salary compensation of teachers was offset by job satisfaction and "holidays." Specific to nurses, Rochlen, Good, and Carver (2009) found that nurses did not vary from other men in terms of their overall job satisfaction or in life satisfaction. However, Rochlen et al. did find that gender-related work barriers, such as less cooperation, lack of acceptance, and hostility in the work place due to gender, were related to lower job and life satisfaction and greater gender role

conflict. Similarly, Shen-Miller, Olson, and Boling (2011) surmised that men in nontraditional careers (elementary school teaching and medical assisting) may experience gender role strain that is perpetuated by their minority status as men in female-dominated systems. The constructs of gender role strain (Shen-Miller et al., 2011) and gender-related work barriers (Rochlen et al., 2009) are less prevalent in the literature related to men's career development and present relevant topics for future research related to men's nontraditional career pursuits.

Lupton (2000) interviewed men working in nontraditional or traditionally female occupations and found that the discussion often turned to issues of masculinity and challenges to these men's masculine identity. From the interviews, it emerged that these men perceived challenges to their identity as men in three major ways. The first of which regarded challenges to masculinity in the workplace and the need to regender their workplace as masculine (e.g., being the breadwinner and successful). The second threat was through a fear of being feminized through exposure to women in the workplace. The third challenge was related to being stigmatized as effeminate and/or homosexual. Lupton (2006) also found that many men in traditional and nontraditional careers believed their masculinity and heterosexuality would be brought into question by working in a female-concentrated occupation. Consistent with Hayes (1986), Simpson (2004) also interviewed men in nontraditional careers and found that the minority status of men in these careers was largely positive. She found that many of the men thought their minority status had benefited their career advancement and that they were perceived as having greater authority than their female counterparts. The rapid advancement of men in nontraditional careers over women has been coined riding the "glass escalator" (Williams, 1995). Riding the glass elevator and experiencing rapid advancement is in contrast to women who often hit the "glass ceiling," where they advance to middle management positions but do not advance to those upper level management positions. Simpson also found that many of the men in nontraditional careers felt they were given special considerations, and few of the men felt isolated or marginalized in

their work. Paradoxically, although many of the men indicated they felt relaxed and at ease working with women, there also was evidence of wanting to distance themselves from feminine aspects of the occupation. Consistent with previous research, many of the men in Simpson's study also wanted to relabel their position to minimize its feminine associations and to recast the content of the job to emphasize the male components.

A few studies show that men in nontraditional careers are frequently viewed with distrust, which may be particularly true of men working with children. For example, Cushman (2005) found with primary teachers that being in close physical contact with children was an issue that constantly permeated their thoughts and actions because of fear of accusations of child abuse or sexual harassment. In summarizing the research on men working in early childhood education, Cameron (2001) found that few men care for or teach young children and that a reoccurring theme in this literature is suspicion about the men who work in early childhood.

A number of studies have examined relationships between gender role conflict and traditionality of career choice. As indicated earlier, men's gender role conflict is often conceptualized as an interaction of environmental and biological factors that promote certain masculine values and the fear of femininity. In a study of college students in nontraditional and traditional majors, Jome and Tokar (1998) found that career-traditional men compared to career-nontraditional men were more likely to have antifeminine attitudes, to have increased toughness scores, and to report difficulties concerning restrictive emotionality and restrictive affectionate behavior between men. Contrary to hypotheses, traditional versus nontraditional college men did not differ in terms of attitudes toward status; conflicts with success, power, and competition; or with work and family conflict. Jome and Tokar found, however, only a modest relation between these masculine gender role variables and traditionality of choice and suggested that other factors, possibly vocational interests, may mediate this relation.

Building on the results from the above study, Tokar and Jome (1998) investigated whether masculine gender roles (i.e., masculinity ideology,

masculine gender role conflict, and homophobia) influenced vocational interests that, in turn, influenced the traditionality of career choice. Their results indicated that masculine gender roles relation to career choice traditionality is indirect, through mediators such as vocational interests. Their fine-grained analyses reflected that social interests or interests in helping people mediated most of the relations. More specifically, the more college men endorsed the notion of antifemininity, avoided expressions of feelings or intimacy, and held negative attitudes toward homosexuals, the lower their social interests were. Furthermore, the higher the social interests, the more likely that the men were to be in nontraditional college majors. Jome, Surething, and Taylor (2005) also found with employed men that social interests predicted employment in a nontraditional occupation.

Dodson and Borders (2006) examined differences between men in traditional compared to nontraditional careers by comparing men employed as mechanical engineers (i.e., traditional careers) and elementary school counselors (i.e., nontraditional careers). Consistent with Jome and Tokar (1998), they found those individuals in traditional careers (the engineers) reported higher antifemininity and toughness scores compared to those in nontraditional careers (the counselors). Also consistent with Jome and Tokar, Dodson and Borders found that the engineers reported more difficulties with restrictive emotionality and restrictive affectionate behavior between men than the school counselors. Unlike Jome and Tokar, Dodson and Borders also found that the men in the traditionally male career differed from men in the traditionally female career in terms of attitudes toward status; difficulties with success, power, and competition; and with work and family conflict. Heilman and Wallen (2010) compared people's perceptions of men successful in a gender traditional career (i.e., financial advisor) to that of men successful in a nontraditional career (i.e., employee relation counselor). When successful at the nontraditional career, men were characterized as more ineffectual and considered less deserving of respect than men in the more traditionally male occupation.

In an interesting study, Sobiraj, Korek, Weseler, and Mohr (2011) examined whether

female coworkers' attitudes toward men impacted the mental health and job satisfaction of men in nontraditional careers. These researchers found that when female coworkers tended to have high antifeminine attitudes toward men, the men in nontraditional careers were likely to experience increased depression and have less job satisfaction compared to men whose female coworkers had less antifeminine attitudes toward men. They also found that social stressors or interpersonal conflict at work played an indirect role regarding the relationship between female coworkers' attitudes of status and toughness and job satisfaction, such that when there was interpersonal conflict at work, the female workers' traditional attitudes of expecting men to have high status positions and to act tough influenced the men's job satisfaction.

M. J. Heppner and Heppner (2009) indicated that very little is known about men of color and traditionality of career choice. One of the few exceptions to this is a study by Flores, Navarro, Smith, and Ploszaj (2006), who surveyed male, Mexican American adolescents. These researchers based their study on social cognitive career theory (Lent et al., 1994). Consistent with social cognitive career theory, they hypothesized that several background contextual variables (e.g., acculturation level, parental support, perceived occupational gender barriers) would predict nontraditional career self-efficacy, and that nontraditional self-efficacy and nontraditional career interests would predict nontraditional career choice. They found that nontraditional career self-efficacy was predicated by levels of acculturation and parental support. Furthermore, they found that nontraditional career self-efficacy predicated nontraditional career interests, which predicted nontraditional career choice. Interestingly, fathers' nontraditional career choice had a direct influence on nontraditional career choice, indicating the importance of fathers' career choice on adolescents' occupational direction.

In conclusion, there appears to be a need for additional research related to men's nontraditional career choices and what influences men to pursue these nontraditional career opportunities. Although early research indicated many benefits for men in nontraditional careers, these careers are primarily

viewed as being lowered paid and having lower status. There are indications that men in nontraditional careers are likely to perceive challenges to their identity as men and that they may rework their occupations to appear more masculine. Most of these findings, however, come from qualitative studies, and these findings need to be replicated with larger samples. In terms of gender role conflict, there is consistency in findings that men in traditional careers compared to nontraditional careers are more likely to have more antifeminine attitudes, elevated toughness scores, difficulties with restrictive emotionality, and less affectionate behavior between men. More research needs to explore whether traditional and nontraditional men vary in terms of attitudes toward status; conflicts with success, power, and competition; or with work and family conflict. It seems that social interests may mediate the relationships among traditionality of choice and masculinity ideology, gender role conflict, and homophobia. There is also a little research that shows how female coworkers' attitudes toward men working in nontraditional careers affect the men's level of depression and job satisfaction. Finally, there is a significant need for empirical inquiry related to the intersection between men's traditionality of choice and racial or ethnic background, as we could only identify one study in this area.

Stay-at-Home Fathers

One of the more nontraditional career paths for men is to be a stay-at-home father (SAHF). Although there still are a relatively small number of SAHFs, there are indications that this is a growing population, as Kramer, Kelly, and McCulloch (in press) found the proportion of SAHF households has grown from 2.0% in 1976–1979 to 3.5% in 2000–2009. Kramer et al. examined differences between men who stayed home because of job loss and health compared to those who stayed home purposely to care for the home and children. They found that the percentage of men staying home to take care of the home and children increased from almost none in 1976–1979 to 22% of all SAHF households in 2000–2009. Furthermore, Latshaw (2011) argued that the number of SAHFs would increase if researchers would consider men who were

gay fathers, cohabiting fathers, and part-time working fathers.

In a qualitative analysis of how these men decided to be SAHFs, Rochlen, Suizzo, McKelley, and Scaringi (2008) found that SAHFs reported a range of factors that influenced their decision to stay home. The most prevalent reason expressed was a belief that one parent should stay home with the children. With a sample of 207 SAHFs, Rochlen, McKelley, and Whittaker (2010) found the most common reasons influencing their decision to become a SAHF were a complex interplay of monetary and pragmatic reasons, in addition to strong parenting values. Chesley (2011) found a consistent pattern where the job conditions of the husband influenced couples' decisions to have the fathers stay home and care for the children. A common thread through these interviews was that some sort of occupational problem or men's occupational dissatisfaction significantly contributed to the couples' decisions for the man to stay home. There were, however, husbands who reported a desire to stay home, and these men tended to be well educated compared to men whose job situation contributed to the decision to stay at home. Kramer et al. (in press) found a distinction between SAHFs who sought caregiving roles and who were unable to work, and their results document that increasingly the reason fathers are staying home is because they deliberately choose to stay home.

Most SAHFs reported enjoyment or satisfaction with their role as a SAHF (Fischer & Anderson, 2012; Rochlen, Suizzo, et al., 2008). The primary benefit noted was having the opportunity to expand their relationships with their children (Chesley, 2011; Robertson & Verschelden, 1993). Moreover, Rochlen, McKelley, Suizzo, and Scaringi (2008) found that SAHFs were either similar to or higher than the majority of comparative samples on life satisfaction, psychological well-being, and relationship satisfaction. Doucet (2004) also found that changing to staying at home did not lead to clinically significant levels of depression, anxiety, somatization, or interpersonal sensitivity for these men. Nevertheless, most SAHFs reported feeling some stigma associated with their stay-at-home status (Rochlen et al., 2010; Rochlen, Suizzo, et al., 2008). Doucet found

that all 70 men interviewed in her study felt the weight of social scrutiny particularly as it related to earning a salary. Rochlen et al. (2010) found that almost half of their sample of SAHFs had experienced a stigma-based incident, and, of those incidents, the majority involved a stay-at-home mother.

Rochlen, Suizzo, et al. (2008) found that all men in their qualitative study defined their masculinity in very personal and flexible terms with a tendency not to focus on how others define masculinity. In couples where the man stays home, Robertson and Verschelden (1993) found that both the wives and husbands reported feeling comfortable with their gender identities. Fischer and Anderson (2012) investigated whether SAHF involvement in a nontraditional career translates to nontraditional gender-typed characteristics and gender role attitudes compared to employed fathers. They found that SAHFs endorsed less traditional gender role attitudes than employed fathers, but the two groups did not differ in terms of masculine and feminine characteristics.

Although SAHFs are in many ways similar to employed men, others tend not to see them in a positive light. SAHFs compared to stay-at-home mothers tended to be seen as providing less affection and comfort to their children and attending less to their child's physical need, such as preparing meals and giving children baths (Bridges, Etaugh, & Barnes-Farrell, 2002). This is consistent with Brescoll and Uhlmann's (2005) finding that SAHFs are perceived as being worse parents than stay-at-home mothers, employed mothers, and even employed fathers. This is also true for social regard, where SAHFs were perceived more negatively than stay-at-home mothers, employed mothers, and employed fathers.

In conclusion, it appears that SAHFs are a growing population (see Chapter 23, this handbook). Furthermore, it appears that men stay at home for a variety of reasons, but increasingly men are staying home to care for the children. SAHFs tend to enjoy their role, but they also report that it is difficult work, and they sometimes feel isolated. These SAHFs also report that they feel some societal stigma associated with their choice. This perceived stigma is consistent with research studies indicating that SAHFs are often viewed negatively, particularly as it relates to their parenting.

Work–Family Interface

Although there are many areas related to men's career development where there is a dearth of research, one area where there has been substantial empirical work concerns the interaction between men's work and their families. A majority of the research related to gender and the work–family interface has focused on work–family conflict (Bellavia & Frone, 2005; Whiston, Campbell, & Maffini, 2012). A classic definition of work–family conflict is Greenhaus and Beutell's (1985) definition, in which it is defined as “a form of inter-role conflict in which the role pressures from the work and family domains are mutually incompatible in some respect. That is, participation in the work (family) role is made more difficult by virtue of participation in the family (work) role” (p. 77). Greenhaus and Beutell also argued that a focus on conflicting roles implies a bidirectional approach (i.e., work-to-family conflict [WFC] and family-to-work conflict [FWC]). Many researchers (e.g., Frone, 2000; Frone, Russell, & Barnes, 1996; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000) have found no gender differences in terms of the level or prevalence of either WFC or FWC. In a meta-analysis of antecedents of WFC and FWC, Byron (2005) found that gender only weakly predicted either type of work–family conflict and suggested that gender alone is a poor predictor of work–family conflict. This research indicates that work–family conflict is not solely a “woman's problem” and indicates that men also have significant problems with work–family conflict.

Byron (2005) did find some subtle gender differences in that job involvement seems to relate more positively to WFC and FWC for men than for women. In addition, when more of a study's participants were parents, there was a gender difference in that women experienced more WFC and FWC than men. In another meta-analysis, Ford, Heinen, and Langkamer (2007) found that for men, job stress had more of a negative correlation with family satisfaction than for women.

Although much of the extant research in the area of the work–family interface has focused on conflict, there also is positive spillover from one domain to the other. This is sometimes labeled work–family enrichment or facilitation—although distinctions

are sometimes made between these two terms (see Greenhaus & Allen, 2011). Some researchers (e.g., Aryee, Srinivas, & Tan, 2005; Rotondo & Kincaid, 2008; van Steenbergen, Ellemers, & Mooijaart, 2007) have found that women have higher levels of work-to-family facilitation than men.

Concerning family-to-work facilitation, Rothbard (2001) found that FWC occurred significantly more frequently for women than for men, and McNall, Nicklin, and Masuda (2010) found that the relationship between FWC and both job satisfaction and health outcomes was greater for women than for men. Although Hill (2005) found that men and women did not differ in terms of level of FWC, he did find that the relationship between child care hours and FWC was negative for working fathers and was positive for working mothers. Furthermore, he found FWC was less positively related to marital satisfaction for working fathers than it was for working mothers. In addition, Aryee et al. (2005) found that gender moderated the effects of optimism and job involvement on family-to-work facilitation such that the relationships were stronger for men than for women. Whereas, it may make sense that optimism in men may play a larger role in family-to-work facilitation than in women, the finding that job involvement for men is correlated more with family-to-work facilitation is harder to explain. It may be for men that involvement in the job relates to more hours and better pay, which positively influences the family, which, in turn, then influences family-to-work facilitation.

Research has consistently shown gender differences in number of hours worked, with men typically working more hours than women (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Although this difference is partly related to women being more likely to work part-time, even among full-time workers, men, on average, work more hours than women (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013b). Some studies (e.g., Corrigan & Konrad, 2006; Jacobs & Gerson, 2004) have found that men work more hours when they are married or have children, whereas women work fewer hours under similar circumstances; however, other studies have suggested that marriage and children similarly decrease working for both men and women (Humbert & Lewis, 2008; Ng & Feldman, 2008).

Also, having a spouse with a professional or managerial job who works longer hours is negatively related to women's work hours and is positively related to those of men (Maume, 2006). Corrigan and Konrad (2006) found that men who shared responsibility for household labor also worked fewer hours than did men who did not share those responsibilities.

Before leaving the area of the work–family interface, it is important to acknowledge a body of work that emanates from men's gender role conflict research. In the expansive research on men's gender role conflict, there is a commonly used measure, the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, & Wrightsman, 1986), which has the Conflicts Between Work and Family Relations (CBWFR) subscale. There has been some criticism of the CBWFR subscale, as some researchers have questioned its theoretical relevance related to men's roles and whether it is unique to only men (see O'Neil, 2008). Nevertheless, there is some research that indicates that the CBWFR subscale is related to different facets of men's well-being and psychological health. For example, Thompkins and Rando (2003) found a significant correlation between the CBWFR subscale and men's internalized shame. Mahalik and Cournoyer (2000) found that depressed men scored significantly higher than nondepressed men on many of the items of the CBWFR subscale. Although the variance explained was quite low, Magovcevic and Addis (2005) found that the CBWFR subscale was related to alcohol abuse, which is consistent with other research in the work–family conflict arena. This area of research further supports the conclusion that work–family conflict has detrimental effects on men, and therefore, it should be of interest to counselors and psychologists.

In conclusion, it is important to note that most research indicates there is not a difference between men and women concerning both the level and prevalence of work–family conflict. Where there does appear to be gender differences concern work–family facilitation, with some research studies indicating that women experience more work-to-family and family-to-work facilitation than men. Furthermore, the benefits of family-to-work facilitation (e.g., job satisfaction) may be less for men than for women. Moreover, there appears to be gender

differences in the number of hours typically worked and the influence of family variables on those hours of work.

Men and Career Counseling

In discussing the career development of men, it is also important to address men's propensity to engage in career counseling and the effectiveness of that career counseling with men. Past research has suggested that men utilize career counseling less often than women; for example, when Galassi, Crace, Martin, James, and Wallace (1992) obtained annual statistics from a college career counseling center, they found that 73% of the clients were female, and only 27% were male. In response to this disparity, several recent studies have examined men's willingness and attitudes toward career counseling. Balin and Hirschi (2010) found that eighth-grade boys in Switzerland were less likely to seek career counseling than girls. On the other hand, Di Fabio and Bernaud (2008) found that gender was not a significant predictor of the intention to go to a career counselor among both high school and college students in Italy. Similarly, Mau and Fernandes (2001) found no gender differences in U.S. college students' use of career counseling services; however, they found that female students were more likely than males to be satisfied with the career counseling.

Rochlen, Mohr, and Hargrove (1999) found that men and women did not differ in the degree to which they valued career counseling but that men attached more stigma to participating in career counseling. Likewise, Di Fabio and Bernaud (2008) observed that young men attached more stigma to participation in career counseling when compared to young women. In an effort to investigate the stigma that men associate with career counseling, Ludwikowski, Vogel, and Armstrong (2009) used an adapted version of the Stigma Scale for Receiving Psychological Help (Komiya, Good, & Sherrod, 2000) and found that men were more concerned than women about stigmatization from others close to them; however, they found no significant differences between women and men regarding perceptions of self-stigma and public-stigma. *Self-stigma* is the perception held by individuals that they are

personally unacceptable by seeking help, whereas *public-stigma* is the influence of stigma at the societal level. These researchers concluded that men may not associate stigma with career counseling in the same way that past research has shown an association between mental health counseling, men, and stigmatization (see Vogel, Wade, & Hackler, 2007).

Rochlen and O'Brien (2002a) examined the reasons why men would or would not seek career counseling. The reasons men would seek career counseling included seeking professional advice, getting general career assistance, exploring job opportunities, and increasing career options. Conversely, the reasons men would not seek career counseling involved time commitment and inconvenience, independence and a preference for solving problems by oneself, embarrassment and viewing participating as being weak, and doubting whether career counseling would be helpful. Interestingly, this preference for more directive, advice-oriented approaches to career counseling endorsed by the men in Rochlen and O'Brien's sample were consistent with past results obtained by Galassi et al. (1992). In this study, both male and female college students indicated that they preferred for career counseling to include discussions about specific careers or decision making, explore careers in general, and gain new information about careers and majors. This is in stark contrast to what clients report at the end of career counseling as being most helpful, which involves self-exploration and support from the counselor (Anderson & Niles, 2000). Men's valuing, however, of a more directive method versus a personal counseling approach is consistent with Rochlen and O'Brien's (2002b) finding that men in general prefer a person-environment approach to career counseling compared to a psychodynamic-integrated approach.

As we discussed earlier, gender role conflict occurs when negative consequences result from socially developed gender roles (O'Neil, 2013). In their study of college men, Rochlen and O'Brien (2002b) found no relationship between gender role conflict (i.e., success, power, and competition; restrictive emotionality; restrictive affectionate behavior between men; conflict between work and family) and the value of career counseling. However,

viewing career counseling as stigmatizing was associated with restrictive emotionality and restrictive affectionate behavior between men. They also found that men who expressed discomfort with emotional and physical closeness with other men were less willing to engage in career counseling. In a sample of only male college students, Graef, Tokar, and Kaut (2010) found that those who believed men should not express emotion and those who expressed more antifeminine viewpoints, two indicators of gender role conflict, were less willing to seek career counseling when facing vocational concerns.

Rochlen, Blazina, and Raghunathan (2002) investigated whether gender role conflict was associated with increased career counseling needs. First, they found that men with high gender role conflict expressed a greater need for career information than men with low and moderate levels of gender role conflict. Second, they found that those higher in gender role conflict were generally more indecisive than men with low levels. Finally, they also found evidence that men with high compared to low or moderate gender role conflict had a greater need for self-understanding and clarification. These results would indicate that career counselors should consider level of gender role conflict when providing career counseling to men.

As men consistently attach more stigma to participating in career counseling, Rochlen et al. (2002) also analyzed whether a gender neutral brochure or one targeted specifically for males would have more impact on men's attitudes toward career counseling and interest in using career counseling services. These researchers found that both brochures equally improved men's attitudes toward career counseling. Interestingly, they did not find an interaction between type of brochure and gender role conflict. These results seem to indicate that simply providing men with accurate information about career counseling will result in increased valuing of career counseling and decrease its stigma.

As brochures may have limited influence on attitudes toward career counseling, Fouad et al. (2007) investigated whether two types of brief role-induction activities would influence perception of the career counseling process. Role induction is a

pretreatment-preparatory procedure, which involves educating the client about the rationale of counseling, the counseling process, expectations for change, and examples of counselor and client behaviors (Connors, Walitzer, & Dermen, 2002). The first type of role-induction condition involved providing participants with a narrow definition of career counseling that focused on career decision making, whereas the second type of role induction condition included a more holistic description of career counseling in which personal issues would also be addressed. These researchers found that men exposed to the holistic condition were more likely than women to attribute less value to career counseling and to report greater stigma attached to it.

Interestingly, another study (Kantamneni, Christianson, Smothers, & Wester, 2011) found somewhat different results than Fouad et al. (2007) when they examined role induction for career counseling. Kantamneni et al. (2011) found that men who viewed a holistic role induction reported greater valuing of career counseling compared to men in the control group who received no role induction. It should be noted that this holistic role induction condition was longer and more comprehensive than the one used in Fouad et al.'s study. Furthermore, Kantamneni et al. also compared a role induction condition that expanded on the holistic approach and included content related to males' socialized reluctance to engage in help seeking. This approach also differed from the control group in terms of valuing career counseling, but it did not differ from the holistic approach. The two types of role induction did not differ from the control group in terms of stigma attached to career counseling or attitudes toward seeking professional help.

Although the results related to men's attitudes toward career counseling may seem somewhat contradictory, there are some trends and consistency in findings. It appears that men do have a tendency to attach more stigma to career counseling than women (Di Fabio & Bernaud, 2008; Rochlen et al., 1999). Furthermore, providing information to men about the process of career counseling seems to have an impact, but there is some variation in the type of pretreatment information that should be provided to

men. Whereas Rochlen et al. (2002) found that providing a brochure to men led to increases in the valuing of career counseling and decreases in terms of stigma attached to career counseling, Fouad et al. (2007) found that providing men with a holistic approach to role-induction led to men reporting less valuing of career counseling than women. However, Kantamneni et al. (2011) found that a longer and more comprehensive holistic approach to role induction can increase men's valuing of career counseling. Therefore, it may be important for clinicians to take some time to explain the process of career counseling to men so that they understand that typically career counseling involves both career and personal issues.

Concerning the area of career counseling practice, Rochlen and O'Brien (2002b) observed that men who endorse high degrees of gender role conflict may possess career-related concerns that could be resolved with career counseling. Furthermore, although men may express a preference for the person-environment fit approach to career counseling (Rochlen & O'Brien, 2002b), there are questions regarding what are the most effective methods of providing career counseling to men. Oliver and Spokane (1988) and Whiston, Sexton, and Lasoff (1998) conducted thorough meta-analyses of career counseling intervention studies, but they were unable to isolate differences between outcomes according to gender. In fact, although 15% of the career intervention outcome studies that occurred between 1983 and 1995 focused exclusively on outcomes for women, there were no studies during this time period that focused exclusively on outcomes for men (Whiston et al., 1998). Although there is research related to men's preferences for the type of career counseling and whether role induction influences attitudes toward career counseling, research that identifies what type of career counseling is actually most effective with men remains absent from the literature and represents an area where there is substantial need for future research. In addition, research is needed that compares men's preferences and attitudes toward career counseling with those of women to ascertain differences that are specifically related to gender identity and role socialization.

Implications for Practitioners

Swanson and Fouad (2015) summarized practical recommendations from a number of scholars writing about incorporating context into career counseling. Their suggestions were drawn from recommendations for career counseling with women (Betz, 2005), racial/ethnic minorities (Kantamneni, 2013), varying social classes (Juntunen, Ali, & Pietrantonio, 2013), and individuals of varying sexual orientations and gender identities (Prince, 2013). They also drew from the *Vocational Guidelines for Practitioners* by Whiston et al. (2013). Their suggestions are summarized here for practitioners working with men in career counseling:

1. Become aware of your own biases about the role of career and work in men's lives, so you do not impose your biases on clients.
2. Help men examine work and career options that go beyond traditionally male options.
3. Help identify barriers to career choices.
4. Help clients to identify family expectations and cultural assumptions about male gender roles and the importance of work that influence clients' work choices.
5. If clients are considering career or work options that run counter to familial expectations, help them discuss the implications from others.
6. Help clients identify potential options they may have foreclosed due to male gender role expectations.
7. Help clients understand how racism, sexism, or heterosexism may have influenced their work-related choices.
8. Help clients identify supportive others, particularly if they are making choices that run counter to familial expectations.

Implications for Researchers

We began this chapter by noting that remarkably little attention has been paid to men's career and work development. Furthermore, the research that has been conducted has often utilized samples of convenience (e.g., college students), author developed instruments, correlational designs, lack of longitudinal designs, and few replication studies. Although the study of men and masculinity has produced

some psychometrically sound instruments, such as the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil, 2008), these instruments have been rarely used related to men's career development outside of the area of nontraditional career choice. O'Neil (2008) acknowledged the need for more research, particularly given the importance of work and the provider role for men. So in many ways we want to issue a clarion call for researchers in the men and masculinity field to turn their attention to vocational research. We have raised some questions in this chapter and summarize them here, along with a few additional suggestions to prompt research in this area:

1. It is ironic that employment is often touted as a primary contributor to men's overall identity; yet, there is little recent research in this area (M. J. Heppner & Heppner, 2009). For example, are some types of work more related to men's identity than others? Are there differences in work identity among varying groups of men, such as gay men, racial/ethnic minority men, or transgendered men? How do cultural values intersect with gender role socialization, and how do those affect work decisions?
2. Is there a need for theories related specifically to men's career and identity development that incorporate the theoretical advancements that have arisen in the area of men and masculinity (see Chapter 3 and 4, this handbook)? Are those theoretical advancements better captured by one (or more) of the existing theories discussed earlier in the chapter, or is a separate theory needed?
3. We suggest it is important to explore men's early socialization and adherence to expected gender roles to understand men's later career choices. In a summary of research related to children's career development, Hartung, Porfeli, and Vondracek (2005) called for more research related to gender and sex role influences on career development, as most of the research has focused on children's feelings about different occupations and not necessarily on constructs related to career development. This area of research is particularly important, as Hartung et al. found that children begin exploring the world-or-work at an early

age and develop early vocational aspirations and goals. Furthermore, it would be fruitful to investigate how family-of-origin factors influence later career choice variables (e.g., relationship with father and traditionality of career choice).

4. Use vocational theories to guide research with men to better understand men's career development—for example, using Holland's theory to better understand why men are more likely to enter realistic and investigative careers. This becomes particularly relevant with the decline in realistic jobs (Reardon, Bullock, & Meyer, 2007), which may affect men's future unemployment. Also using social cognitive career theory, there needs to be more research related to contextual factors that influence both men's self-efficacy and outcome expectations. Although there has been significant research regarding differences between men's and women's self-efficacy, particularly in the areas of mathematics and science, there has been very little within group research related to men's self-efficacy in other areas such as language arts and interpersonal communication. There also needs to be research related to men's outcome expectations in concert with self-efficacy to determine whether these two constructs are narrowing men's vocational interests, which, in turn, restricts their vocational choices.
5. As M. J. Heppner (2013) has stressed, one of the greatest paradoxes in the career literature is that even though women experience numerous barriers and obstacles in their work (e.g., less pay, more sexual harassment, and greater discrimination), they generally report greater job satisfaction than men. It may be that work stress is related to gender role conflict or adherence to masculine norms. Why men report less job satisfaction is a fertile area of research, and the results of this research would have multiple implications. For example, the results may influence the development of gender-specific interventions for men's work stress.
6. M. J. Heppner and Heppner (2009) have called for additional studies related to men's traditional and nontraditional career choices that are both methodologically sound and statistically rigorous. In particular, there is a need for longitudinal research that traces and documents the development of men's nontraditional interests and skills. M. J. Heppner and Heppner have also contended that there is a need for smaller sample qualitative studies that provide a voice for men in nontraditional careers, while simultaneously there needs to be large scale quantitative studies that provide a broad understanding of men in nontraditional occupations.
7. Although there has been some research related to men's nontraditional career choices and gender role conflict (O'Neil, 2008), particularly using the Gender Role Conflict Scale (O'Neil et al., 1986), there has been very limited, if any, research related to gender role conflict and other career variables. For example, gender role conflict may vary by occupational category or by level of responsibility (e.g., management vs. subordinate). Interestingly, although gender role conflict has been found to be associated with intrapersonal (e.g., depression, anxiety) and interpersonal (e.g., marital discord) problems (O'Neil, 2013), its relationship with job satisfaction or other employment variables has not been explored. Moreover, more research should be conducted related to whether gender role conflict or adherence to masculine norms mediate or moderate the relationship among career variables, such as the relationship between self-efficacy beliefs and career outcome expectations.
8. We noted that in many ways, career counseling is an easy entry to counseling for men, but we also noted that there is a stigma associated with career counseling. First, researchers need to document whether career counseling is an entry way for disclosures of other topics that traditionally fall under the umbrella of psychotherapy. Second, researchers need to delve deeper into the topic of stigma in men's career counseling and determine why men associate more stigma to career counseling than women. Third, there needs to be exploration of methods for reducing the stigma associated with career counseling for men.
9. More outcome research is needed to understand factors that influence the effectiveness of career counseling for men. There may be techniques

or counseling approaches that work more effectively with men, but as of yet, there has been little research about which techniques work well with men under what circumstances. For example, we do not know whether men would prefer a male or a female clinician or whether a more directive approach is more effective with men.

10. As we noted earlier, much more research is needed on within group differences for men and how those are related to work decisions. Fouad (2007) has argued that research needs to focus on the intersectionality of *gender* and *race* and *social class*. Many cultures have an expectation that men will be the major providers in the family, yet we know little about how race and social class affects men's work decisions. We reviewed the restricted range of occupations for men, yet it is unknown why men are choosing to enter a limited range of occupations. Are there messages about appropriateness of particular types of occupations that men receive, and are those related to race and social class? Are men's occupational choices shaped by their perceptions of opportunities and role modeling by other men of similar race and social class? Similarly, we need to know more about the impact of unemployment for different groups of men. Whereas we know that men's unemployment rates differ by race and social class, we do not understand the role of various masculine variables, which may play a role in the psychological impact of unemployment.

CONCLUSIONS

Little research in the last 60 years has focused exclusively on the career development of men, which is ironic, as most of the research in the first half of the 20th century focused solely on men. Therefore, we know very little about the work and career issues that men currently face. Although some career theories may still apply to men, the lack of current research with men examining within-group differences calls into question the applicability of these theories. Researchers and practitioners may want to explore M. J. Heppner and Jung's (2013) GSCM, which

focuses on the interaction between masculinity and social class. Men's selection of nontraditional careers has been an area of increased empirical interest; yet, men are not entering nontraditional careers as frequently as women are entering nontraditional occupations. There are men who stay home with their children for a variety of reasons; however, it appears that society often questions this career direction for men. Although work–family conflict is often considered a “women's issue,” research consistently shows that men experience work–family conflict at the same level and frequency as women. Finally, it appears that men attach more stigma to career counseling than women, and we need to know more about how to best serve the career needs of men across the life span. We believe that much more research is needed, and we want to issue a call to researchers in both the areas of masculinity and vocational psychology to collaborate to help us further understand the influence of careers and work for men.

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